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PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains ¹⁰¹ which extend from about one degree north of the equator to ^[131] six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae¹, whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop'² or Il-Lumbwa³. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwavi⁴, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others.

Sir H. Johnston states⁵, and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro ¹⁷⁴ and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples ^[44] must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, ^[97] and have many customs in common with the Masai. The ¹¹⁴ accounts which have been published of the habits and

¹ When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Máase (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

² 'L-Oikop' is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

³ Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

⁴ The meaning of Kwavi (or Kwapi) in Masai is countries or somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'maasa, property, and that Kwavi is a corruption of kaß, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

⁵ *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. II, p. 796.

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INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most¹, and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

¹ The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

101 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa¹. Somewhat
 144 more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of
 South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear
 resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks
 of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka,
 and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together
 as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their
 • [197] languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of
 [142] affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features
 [516] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost
 Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of
 the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are
 found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be
 between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai,
 Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and
 Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military
 organization which obliges all the male population, between
 the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special
 discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organiza-
 tion does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell
 along the Nile². These latter are not a homogeneous group,
 so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The
 Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between
 Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east
 of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours,
 and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though
 in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the
 Bari.

174 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to
 197 the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt
 of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another,
 Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and
 Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been
 forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution
 of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward move-
 ment from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and
 the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the
 174 fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions
 has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

¹ The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

² Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

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771 we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

764 The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas¹, in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

759 As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women.

[563] A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

701 It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the

[171] Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

171 Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

¹ It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

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made the grammatical system of the Masai language coherent and clear. It has a marked love for lengthy formations, and until the articles, relatives, verbal prefixes and affixes had been separated out it was impossible to discover not only roots, but even the simple forms of nouns and verbs. Much still remains to be done in dividing these forms into their essential parts and formative elements, but the general structure of the language appears to be established beyond doubt.

Except for the length of the words, the phonetics are simple and easy. Difficult groups of consonants and the harsher gutturals are absent, and the utterance seems to be somewhat languid, and in particular the pronunciation of the labials tends to be indistinct. The verb is clearly distinguished from the noun, and shows great luxuriance of formation, but has only moderate powers of expressing the categories of personality and time. A prefix indicates not only the subject but also the pronominal object; but the distinction is not always complete: thus *Aasuj* means either I follow thee, or they follow me; *Kisuj*, thou followest me, they follow thee, or we follow him. Only present and past times are clearly and regularly expressed. The future is sporadic. The imperative is not, as in so many languages, the simple verbal root, but a form analogous to the subjunctive. The negative is expressed by *m* or *mi*, but various circumlocutions are also used. There is a great wealth of derivative forms. These comprise an impersonal passive; forms denoting motion to and from the speaker; a form indicating that the action is done in the interests of some one; another indicating the instrument with which or the place in which a thing is done; reflexive, causative, and neuter formations.

Unlike the verb, the noun shows very little power of inflexion, and can only indicate number. The plural is formed by a great variety of suffixes, such as *a*, *i*, *o*, *ra*, *ta*, *tin*, *shi*, *shin*, *ni*, *n*, *k*, &c., but it is noticeable that the singular is often formed from the plural, that is to say, a collective noun is individualized by the addition of a suffix, e.g. *Il-Keyu*, the Elgeyo tribe, *Ol-Keyuni*, one man of the tribe; *il-akir*, stars, but *ol-akira*, a particular star. Not only are there no case inflexions, but prepositions are almost entirely absent, so that the possibility of indicating case relations in a substantive is very limited. The nominative and accusative are not distinguished except by position, even in pronouns. The genitive is expressed in various ways, usually with the help of the article and a particle of varying form, in which the

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and the relative can be used together to form a noun: 193
ol-o-unisho, the-who-sows, that is, the sower.

As far as our limited knowledge of it permits us to judge, 197
Latuka is the language which most resembles Masai. It is spoken to the east of the Nile, about 4° N., rather to the north of Nimule. Unfortunately we have no account of the grammar, but Emin Bey (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1882, pp. 174-8), and Baker (*The Albert Nyanza*) have given some contributions towards a vocabulary. About a third of the words known are obviously the same as the Masai equivalents, and of the remainder many look as if they would prove identical when we have a better knowledge of the changes the consonants may undergo and can separate the roots and formative elements more accurately. This is a fair percentage of correspondences, if we consider how quickly unwritten languages change, and how often one member of a pair of related words may not be that in most general use. A traveller's vocabulary of English and German would probably give 'dog' and 'Hund' as corresponding words, and not mention 'hound.' An inspection of the Latuka words suggests that *a*, *e*, and *n* represent an article similar to that in Masai, but that the letter *l* is not used in this connexion. Aker, a male sheep, and naker, a female sheep, corresponding to the Masai ol-kerr and en-gerr, are significant.

The next nearest relative of Masai seems to be Bari¹, spoken to the north-west of Latuka on both banks of the Nile. Friedrich Müller (*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Band III, 1884) noticed the resemblance of this language both in grammar and vocabulary to Masai. The vocabulary would appear, however, to contain more than one element, and a considerable proportion of the words are unlike Masai, and perhaps are West African in origin. The grammatical forms are less developed and luxuriant than in Masai, and hence the words are shorter, but the system seems essentially similar. The verb has an active and passive voice, and distinguishes a durative, an aorist, and an imperative. The noun has a singular and plural formed by various affixes as in Masai, and the singular is sometimes the longer form, being derived from the plural by the addition of a syllable indicative of individuality. There are a few prepositions, but not many, though more than in Masai. The pronouns are fairly like those in Masai, and there is an article, masculine *lo*, feminine *na*, plural *ti*, but it is suffixed to the substantive. It is possible, however, that a *k* which is sometimes found at the beginning

¹ Mitternitzer, *Die Sprache der Bari*, Brizan, 1867.

• 197 of words may be the remnant of an article. Compare, for instance, kolong, sun; kare, river; konge, eye; komong, face, with the Masai eng-olong, eng-are, eng-ongu, eng-omom (cf. the vocatives with prefixed *K*, p. 15). A relative prefix like *o-*, *na-* seems not to be known, but we find adjectival phrases like *ko kure*, thirsty (with thirst), and *lo-dit* (masculine), *na-dit* (feminine), small, which recall Masai constructions.

The Dinka¹ language, spoken to the north of Bari, has, as Friedrich Müller points out, considerable resemblance to it. A good number of words can be reasonably compared with Masai forms, but superficially the likeness is not great, as the Dinka words are generally monosyllabic and rarely have more than two syllables. *Lem* (knife) seems to be the Masai *eng-alem*; *mac* (fire), *en-gima*; *ton* (man), *ol-tuŋani*; *pey* (moon), *ol-apa*, Bari *yapa*; *kir* (water), *eng-are*, Bari *kare*. It is not, however, probable that the Dinka forms are primitive, as they are capable of considerable changes which may be explicable by reference to older and fuller forms. For instance, *lyeb*, the tongue (? Masai *ol-figejep*), can become *lyep*, *lyema*, *lyem*, *lip* and *lib*; *mac*, fire, *maŋe*, *maŋ*, and *mêc*; *tik*, a woman, wife (? connected with *en-dito*, *in-doiye*), *tine*, *tin*, *ting*, *dyar*. Except for these changes which affect the plural (e.g. *ran*, a man, *ror*, men) and the word on which a genitive depends (*tik*, wife, *tin e beyn did*, wife of the great chief), Dinka resembles Bari in its general construction. It would seem that Bari is nearest to the common substratum of these languages, though it has been exposed to foreign influences, and that Masai (with which Latuka should perhaps be included) and Dinka represent modifications in two different directions, Masai having a profusion of formative elements which are heaped one on the other and result in very long words, while Dinka is prone to contraction, which produces irregular inflexions.

Turning to the East African languages I think that when the Nandi-Lumbwa and Suk-Turkana groups have been more fully investigated they will prove to be closely allied to Masai, and therefore to the languages with which the latter is connected. To the best of my belief, our only materials for the study of these tongues are Johnston's and Hopley's vocabularies, and our knowledge of the grammar is very defective. It is clear that there is a resemblance between simple words, particularly those denoting parts of the body (e.g. Eye: Masai, *eng-ongu*; Nandi, *konyak*; Suk, *koŋ*; Turkana, *ekoŋ*. Mouth: Masai, *en-gutuk*; Nandi, *kötet*;

¹ *Mitternützer, Die Dinka Sprache, Briza, 1866.*

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Suk, kôte; Turkana, akotok). I think traces of articles can be detected, and Nandi certainly has many formative elements combined with the essential part of the word, such as *-i* and *-da* to mark the singular, and *k*, *nek*, and *wek* for the plural. When the precise force of these prefixes and affixes is known, the degree of relationship with Masai will be plainer. The verbal forms quoted from Nandi seem very similar to those in Masai.

<i>Nandi.</i>	compare	<i>Masai.</i>
Aonget ane, I know.		Asuj nanu, I follow.
Inget inye, thou knowest.		Isuj iye, thou followest.
Ingen ni, he knows.		Easuj ninye, he follows.
Kinget acek, we know.		Kisuj iyook, we follow.
Onget akwek, ye know.		Isujusuj 'ndae, you follow.
Inget iceke, they know.		Easuj ninje, they follow.
Maonget, I do not know.		Masuj, I do not follow.
Minget, thou knowest not.		Misuj, thou followest not.
Minget inne, he does not know.		Mesuj, he does not follow.
Mokinget, we do not know.		Mikisuj, we do not follow.
Nenyu mwonget, ye do not know.		Misujusuj, you do not follow.
Menget icek, they do not know.		Mesuj, they do not follow.

In Masai it is not necessary to express the personal pronoun except to avoid ambiguity. Suk, like Masai and Nandi, has *wa* as a sign of the negative, but Turkana has *nye*.

It does not appear to me that these languages—Masai, Nandi-Lumbwa, Suk and Turkana—have any clear kinship with Somali and Galla. The coincidences in vocabulary seem explicable as loan words. The grammatical system of all is compatible with the view, if it can be supported by other arguments, that all can be traced back to one stock, that is to say, none of the languages show an essentially different method of forming words and constructing sentences, as does, for instance, the Bantu group. But the similarity consists in the absence of striking differences rather than in points of positive agreement. It may be noted, however, that Somali has an article; that the negative is *ma*; that there are some resemblances with Masai in both the personal and possessive pronouns, and that those verbs which take prefixes offer a general resemblance to the corresponding Masai formations (Somali: *a-qan*, *ta-qan*, *ya-qan*, *na-qan*, *ta-qan-in*, *ya-qan-in*, I know, you know, &c., compare Masai *a-suj*, *i-suj*, *e-suj*, *ki-suj*, *i-sujusuj*, *e-suj*).

It may be of interest as throwing light on the relationships of East African languages to give the numerals of those which have been mentioned, as well as of Ja-luo, Acholi, and Madi.

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1: HOLLIS G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 MAAI FL12

	SUMAIL	MAAI	LATUKA	NANDU	TUNKARA	SUK	BARI	DENKA	JA-SUK	AKHMA	MAAI
1	Kan	Obu, m. Nabo, f.	Abodi	Akidge	Epel	Okidgo	Tu or Gelang	Tok	Ashiel	Akhiel	Alo
2	Laba	Aaru, m. Aru, f.	Arrega	Aelg	Rgare	Oyelg	Oel or murek	Rou	Arolo	Arlé	Hef
3	Sodeh	Okual, m. Uel, f.	Gumiggo	Stuob	Rgaxui	Somok	Jala	Dyak	Adok	Adok	Ha
4	Afer	Oelgwan, m. Oelgwan, f.	Angon	Aligwan	Nomwan	Aligwan	Ungwan	Nguan	Aligwan	Aligwan	Se
5	Ghan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut*	Ekan	Mut	Kanet	Wade	Ahity'	Ahi	Tad
6	Leh	Ile	Eile	Lo	Ekan kupi	Ekan kupi	Baker	Widam	Awuchiel	Ahichel	Azié
7	Tadobé	Ouplahana Naxpiahana	Allarit	Tumab	Ekan gure	Mut eyelg	Buryé	Widara	Abure	Ahleris	Tulleri
8	Sided	Iyot	Ottigoni	Sial	Egalgumi	Gangutini	Budok	Bei	Abure	Abure	Arre
9	Ngai	Oudo', m. Nauda, f.	Ottongun	Schal	Ekan kumwan	Ekan kumwan	Bungula	Widangan	Onguchiel	Ahulgwan	Dritsido
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tomonon	Tomonon	Foth or Moro	Wiyer	Apar	Apa	Mudri

* Endery and ad, the latter according to F. Müller, are also used for p. Of the higher Maai numbers, Tipilin (20) seems to be the *Galla diplosa*, ariso (40), and ocom (50), perhaps the *Sumail aptera* and *larva*. Gura (30) is the same as the Suk word, and apparently connected with Somok (3).

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This list of numbers suggests the following reflections among others: (a) Madi is quite different from the other languages, and gives the impression more than Somali of belonging to a different group. (b) Somali has lost numbers to Masai, Latuka, Nandi, Turkana, and Suk, but is otherwise distinct. (c) The remaining languages had originally separate numerals only up to 5. The higher numerals are expressed in Nandi and Masai by borrowed words or new formations, in the others by compounds which more or less clearly mean $5+1$, $5+2$, &c. It is remarkable that both in Bari and Dinka, as well as Ja-luo and Acholi, though they do not otherwise correspond in details, 7 and 9 are clearly $5+2$ and $5+4$, but 8 is not so plainly $5+3$. (d) The numerals up to 5 show a fair correspondence. 4 is practically the same in all languages, and so is 2, except in Nandi and Suk, where it is replaced by a word which may possibly mean 'pair,' just as *rus* is commonly used for 2 in Arabic dialects. For 5 there are at least two words: *was* and *imot* in Nandi and Masai; *lasot* and *elne* in Bari. Suk uses both. Possibly *wode* in Dinka and *abity* in Ja-luo represent variations of the first root, as may also the *Bu* in the Bari numerals from 6 to 9. 1 shows great variety, which may perhaps be paralleled in other families of languages, for instance, Aryan; but it is strange that there should be so little agreement as to 3. Masai and Turkana use *wa*, Nandi and Suk *comok*. *Jale* in Bari stands alone. Dinka, Ja-luo, and Acholi use some word like *dek*, which perhaps reappears in the Bari for 8, *buddik* ($=5+3$). The general conclusion to be drawn is that all these languages (except of course Somali and Madi), while forming closer sub-groups among themselves, belong to a common stock, and that the nearest relation of Masai is Latuka, though they have been separated long enough for each to develop special features.

Mr. Hollis's book will appeal chiefly to the scientific world, and perhaps is, with the exception of Sir Harry Johnston and Krapf's works, the most valuable contribution which has yet been made to the anthropology and philology of the British possessions in East Africa. But it will also have, if used as it should be, a very great practical value. Experience gained in many parts of the world has impressed on me the obvious but much neglected truth that if one wishes to be on friendly terms with other races and to avoid misunderstandings, the first essential is to speak their language. There can be no doubt that in East Africa, as elsewhere, natives are delighted

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SUBSTANTIVES

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Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-oisoto	Il-oisotok	The nail, claw.
Ol-oidoloki	Il-oidolok	The elbow.
El-lenywa	Il-lenyok	The long hairs of the tail of a wildebeest or zebra, &c.; the fan made of these hairs.
Examples of other words:		
Ol-oisgöni	Il-oisgok	The bull, the strong man.
Eng-aji	Ing-ajijik	The family, hut.
Em-beneiyo	Im-benek	The leaf.
Ol-aganaiyoi	Il-aganaiyok	The fruit.
Ol-öwaru	Il-öwarak	The feast of prey.
E-mödiöi	I-mödiok	The cow's dung.
Eng-are	Ing-äriak	The water.
Ol-mwoilaa	Il-mwoilak	The beetle.

CLASS IV.

According to another rule which applies fairly regularly to a large class of substantives, the singular appears to be formed from the plural by adding *i* or *ai*¹. Comprised in this group are the names of tribes, a few communities of people, most insects, some birds and small animals, and a number of words which were probably first known in their collective form. Examples of names of tribes:

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Ashumba	Ol-Aashumbai	The Swahili.
Il-Tefigwal	Ol-Tefigwali	The Nandi.
Il-Köyu	Ol-Köyuni	The Elgeyo.
Il-Uasin-gishu	Ol-Uasin-gishui	The Gwas Ngishu Masai.
Il-Kume	Ol-Kumei	The Turkana.
Il-Turkana	Ol-Turkanai	
Il-Kamasya	Ol-Kamasyai	The Kamasia.
Il-Kakesan	Ol-Kakesani	The Lumbwa ² .
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	
Il-Oikop	Ol-Oikopani	The Lumbwa Masai ² .
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	

¹ This construction is by no means peculiar to the Masai. In Persian, for instance, *i* is added to a word to mean one individual, e.g. *zan*, woman, *zani*, one particular woman; *bacha*, a child, *bachai*, one particular child; *bar*, time, *bari*, one time, once. [197]

² A tribe living near the Lake Victoria, whose real name is Kip-ai-kial.

³ The Lumbwa Masai, who call themselves *L-Oikop*, and who are often referred to by the Masai proper as *L-Oogol-ala* (the hard teeth), live in German East Africa extending as far south as Mpapua. Their language is almost identical with that of the Masai in British territory, the chief difference being the pronunciation of one or two letters, *k* being spoken like *g*, *p* being pronounced *per* or *pe*, and the vowels being softened. There is also a tribe of people called *L-Oikop* (*Leukop* or *Lukob*) living at the south end of Lake Rudolf who apparently speak Masai. They were met by Teleki and Höhnelt (*The Discovery of Lake Rudolf and Stephanie*) and by Wellby (*Twist Birdar and Menelik*). [101] [197]

II - TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MASAI

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The name Masai covers a group of related tribes in British East Africa. The linguistic classification of BRYAN (see Bibl.) distinguishes five Masai tribes:

1. *The Samburu*, north east of Lake Baringo, in the Rift Valley and Northern Frontier Provinces of Kenya. They are sometimes called *Burkeneji*, a derivative from *il-loo-iboor-keneji*, the people of the white goats. They are pastoral. We know very little of their social organisation as they have never been studied on the field.

2. *The Njamusi or Njemps*. They live close to Lake Baringo, and are mainly agricultural. DUNDAS,¹ states that "they are survivors of a Samburu tribe called *Il Digio*". What we know of the Njamusi is practically limited to the fact that they exist.

3. *The Kapiti or Kaputici*. They live mainly in Kenya around Narok, Ngong and Kajiado. Some are found in Tanganyika. All are pastoral. HOLLIS' standard work on the Masai refers mainly to this tribe.

4. *The Kisongo*, found mainly in Tanganyika around Loliondo and Mondul. There are a few in Kenya. All are pastoral. The other standard work on the Masai by MERKER describes, for the most part, the Kisongo.

5. *The Lumbwa*. The name means "farmers", and is correctly applied only to the agricultural Masai. It is wrongly used also for the Kipsigis. The Lumbwa are found mainly in Tanganyika near Lake Natron, Lake Manyara, and around Arusha and Mt. Meru. They are called by the other Masai *Il-Oikop*, a name of despalal.²

197 According to BRYAN and TUCKER, all these Masai tribes are linguistically distinguished by "very slight dialectal differences".

¹ DUNDAS, *The Wamanga and other Tribes of the Elgon district, British East Africa* in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1913, p. 50.

² There are other names which do not indicate any special tribe, such as *Il-Arusha*, applied to the Masai living in or around Arusha. They are called *Wa-Arusha* by the neighbouring Bantu. Meru is the name for the Masai living on the slopes of Mt. Meru. They should be distinguished from the A-Meru of Kenya, Central Province. *Kwafi* is the Swahili term for the Masai, but it is especially applied to the Lumbwa of Kilosa District in Tanganyika. We may add that the Kikuyu and the A-Meru speak of the Masai (*Mathai*, *Matao*, respectively) as *Okabi*.

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY, "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer, reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai. 233 [22] 181 233 554

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168. 162 [161]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 631 634 [101] 175

* HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

* L. e., p. 167.

* In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

THE MASAI AS A RACE.

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exposure; for the damp cold is singularly fatal to the coast natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralyzed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to better themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si wezi," "Si wezi" (I am not able). On my return march at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Naivasha, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually *white*, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralyzed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves.

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations.

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their cranial development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity.

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These have not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer

B.

	Masai	Nandi	Suk
Long narrow-bladed spears	Yes	Yes	No
Large shields	Yes	Yes	No
Pigtails	Yes	Yes	No
Ostrich-feather head-dresses	Yes	Yes	No
Swords	Yes	Yes	No
Ivory arm-clamps	Yes	Yes	No
Patriline and patrilocal marriage ..	Yes	Yes *	Yes

* Throughout the Nandi division of the Nandi group.

The Masai and Nandi features are not merely similar, but often practically identical. Shields, spears, and swords, for example, are of the same shape and size, and indeed are peculiar to the Masai and Nandi, though the shapes have been imitated by some of the neighbouring Bantu, e.g., the Kikuyu and others. The ivory arm-clamp appears to be peculiar to this group, and has no early Hamitic prototype.¹¹ Masai and Nandi female dress is of the same general type, and in both the women wear a great deal of coiled wire on the arms and legs. The Hill Suk, however, are undoubtedly of Nandi stock, and speak a language of strong Nandi type; all the Suk also practise male and female circumcision,¹² which is not a custom of the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamites. Hut types differ in all three: Suk huts are little more than rough grass shelters, those of the Nandi being strongly built mud and wattle structures with obtuse-angled thatched roofs; but the huts of the Masai have flat roofs and straight walls plastered with dung, a shape which seems to be derived from the matting hut of such Hamites as the Somali. All members of the Nandi group, including the Dorobo, remove the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw. (Further details on Southern Nilo-Hamitic culture are given in the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, East Central Africa, Part VI, pp. 15-20.)

LANGUAGE

The Southern Nilo-Hamites speak two main types of language, which are closely related, Nandi and Masai. These languages exhibit the same traits as indicated under the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamitic languages, except that Nandi has no "L" and "N" in grammatical sex determination.

It now seems that the languages of the Nandi-speaking group may be divided into three separate languages: Suk, Tatog, and Nandi, which have developed from a common stock. Suk has the dialects of Endo and Marakuet, and Nandi the dialects of Kipsikis, Terik, Keyo, Tuken, Kony, Pok, and Sapei, as well as the various Dorobo dialects. Suk, Endo, and Marakuet are very close, and are mutually intelligible, as also are the Nandi and Dorobo dialects. Suk, though basically similar in structure and vocabulary to Nandi, has certain striking phonetic and grammatical differences which render the two languages mutually unintelligible unless learnt. Tatog, as exemplified by Barabaig, is unmistakably of Nandi stock, but in sound and much of its vocabulary would be utterly unintelligible to Nandi. An important

¹¹ The reference in H. Frankfort's paper "Modern survivors from Punt," in *Studies presented to F. L. Griffith*, 1932, pp. 445-53, is misleading on this point.

¹² I use the expression circumcision to include both the operation properly so called on males and the operation of clitoridectomy performed on women.

Nandi FL13

Tatoga FN26

AN important

LANGUAGE

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point of difference between the languages of the Nandi group is the presence or absence of a secondary suffix or definite article, sing. *t*, plur. *k*, and the method of attaching it. Suk, Endo, and Marakwet do not possess the *t/h* suffix; in Tatoga it is often added direct to the stem without any connecting vowel; in Nandi there is often a connecting vowel, e.g., Suk *kuosy*, Tatoga *kuway-t*, Nandi *kuang-e-t*, "bow," in which the final *t* is the secondary suffix. In Masai, on the other hand, the "article" or gender-sign is prefixed, sing. *ol-*, fem. *en-*; pl. *il-*, fem. *in-*. The dialectal differences between the speech of the various Masai tribes are very slight, being in fact much less than occur in the Nandi dialect group, and for practical purposes Masai is a language without dialects.

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The Hadzapi speak a click language, related to one form of South African Bushman speech.¹³ The Sandawe also speak a click language, apparently related to Nama Hottentot. The Iraqw and Gorowa languages are very closely related to each other, with a large common vocabulary, but it has not yet been possible to classify them. It may well be that some East African languages have survived as the speech of isolated tribes or tribal groups and will continue to defy attempts to classify them because the other languages to which they were once related have disappeared.¹⁴

COO

A poor form of Swahili, the official lingua franca of Kenya and Tanganyika, is spoken to a rather limited extent by the Nilo-Hamitic pastoral tribes, but even today many of the older and some of the younger people, especially those in remote country districts, know little of it. In 1925 less than 50% of the Nandi understood Swahili, though the percentage has since increased. Most of the Tatoga, Iraqw, and Hadzapi know very little Swahili, if any.

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¹³ D. F. Bleek, "The Hadzapi or Watindega of Tanganyika Territory," *Africa*, 1931, IV, pp. 273 seq.

¹⁴ No further details are given on language, since this subject is dealt with in the International African Institute's *Handbook of African Languages*, to which reference should be made. It may be noted that throughout I use *c* to represent *ch* (approximately) as in "church."

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and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

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Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

(113)

2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.,
36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

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Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Elliot, Oxford, 1909):

[173]
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/xv cont./

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Nandi	
1	toko	kau	obo		1
2	luma	laba	are	acng	2
4	afur	afar	ongwan	angwan	4
6	dya	leh	ilk	lo	6
7	turb	tudoba		tesab	7
8	sadet	sider	izyt	sini	8
9	sagal	sagal	anderoit, sal	sokel	9
10		toben	tomen	tamen	10
20	digritum	tubeten	digritum	tiprum	20
30	sodoma	suden	esom	sosom	30
40	afurium	afurien	arlam	artam	40
50		kuntun	esum	lumun	50
100		boghol	ip	pehol	60, 100

In the purely Semitic syntax, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nuba influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /Imperfektschemas/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation; one should compare:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. sing. <i>a-sudsch</i> , I follow | pl. <i>hi-sudsch</i> , we follow |
| 2. sing. <i>i-sudsch</i> , you follow | <i>i-sudschu-sudschu</i> , you follow |
| 3. sing. <i>e-sudsch</i> , he follows | <i>e-sudsch</i> , they follow |

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest forms

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. sing. <i>a-sudsch</i> | cf. Somali <i>ayan</i> , I know |
| 2. sing. <i>hi-sudsch</i> | " " <i>hi-qan</i> , etc. |
| 3. sing. <i>je-sudsch</i> | " " <i>je-qan</i> |
| 1. pl. <i>ni-sudsch</i> | " " <i>ne-qan</i> |
| 2. pl. <i>hi-sudschu</i> | " " <i>hi-qanwu</i> |
| 3. pl. <i>je-sudschu</i> | " " <i>je-qanwu</i> |

/xv cont./

193 which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from
 197 Arabia to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic a-kun,
 174 ta-kun, ja-kun, pl. nakun, takūnū, jakūnū). But otherwise, too,
 19 Masai, even though its vocabulary /xvi/ and much of its grammar
 174 are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to
 its onetime Arabian homeland. Among these I count the con-
 junctions o, "and" (from wa), and the consecutive pe, "and, so
 that," Hollis, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, so charac-
 teristic for Arabic, between wa and fa, or the remnant of a
 formation of singular nouns by the ending -a (il-akir, stars, ol-
akira, a single star, Hollis, p. xxi), or the double function of the
 particle ma (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf.
 Arabic ma, "not" and "that which"), or also individual charac-
 teristic words that can scarcely be taken as later loanwords, but
 are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as sararua, navel,
 Arabic surra; sero, forest, Arabic sarw, forested mountains
 (originally cypress forest); kunoni, blacksmith, Arabic kain;
remet, spear, Arabic rumh; moruo, older man, husband, Arabic
maru; ure, to fear, Arabic wara'a; sun and day fem. (night and
 moon, on the other hand, masc.), cf. also Arabic šams, sun fem.,
 and the expression al-lail wa 'n-nahār (1).

1. Nahār is an old (later no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form fa'āl from nūr, "light"; lail is the masc. of laila (older lailot) with the same meaning, "night."

193 night and day, next to al-jaum wa 'l-laila. Pointing quite
 197 specifically to the South Arabian Mahra language (thus the dialects
 174 of Frankincense Land), from where so-called Ethiopian also stems,
 are some plural formations of the Masai, such as eng-aftin from
eng-af, il-apaffin from ol-apa, etc. (Hollis, p. 25), cf. in Mahra
ebelšten (from aybel, flint), haidenten (from haiden, ear); like-
 wise Ethiopian enta (fem.), "which," and Masai enna, fem. of
elle, as well as the feminine article en (in contrast to masc. ol).
 000 According to Hollis, p. 275, the Pleiades are only six stars among

According to Hollis, p.275,
 /xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
 Nergal symbol); the name of the bearers of the religious tradition
 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression
 for priest, kabir, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (2).

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[576]

2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence
 of the Masai custom that when one is inside
 with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so
 that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p.
 158) with the similar custom among the southern
 Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by
 Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands
 at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South
 Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well
 as saijid, "master," probably has the same
 etymology, cf. Syrian sewid, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
 197 dangle, "young woman" (after the circumcision); tong, el-
 174 garamet, is the Arabic el-kullibat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur,
 the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic el-ibra,
 needle. The name of the liana species mogongora, from which
 the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker,
 p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigirieni, a vanilla-scented perfume),
 is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense,
mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a
 word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadardar, a /xvii/
 tree name, airafara, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity
 of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color
 names (warakrak, gold-green = Hebrew jerakrak, hamalmfi, green,
 but also dabarbi, backlike = hill, and the Tigre plant names
gondefdfe, endufduf, amferfaro, and handugdug). All these
 [114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as
 an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian
 people seem fully justified.

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Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gasirek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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/15 cont./

the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Laiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidoñ lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

Every tribe (en giachomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

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[578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

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[783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

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142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

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[563] 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/112 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence
326 of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type
461 from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error.
[114] I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who
for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and
very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade,
but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were
despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the
326 weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In
783 order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat
every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his
hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the
326 excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social
position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Eñgussa
from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other
blacksmith. The Ol brugga people, however, jealously see to it that
he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for
members of another people.

564 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are
326 always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith
361 kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono
[314] have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal
[317] and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be
[347] found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It
[354] consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies
326 the hearth (en edonischore). The smith makes his tools as well as his
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10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905

FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12

Nandi FL13

1905.]

MAN.

[No. 21]

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—	DOORS OF THUNDER (K. HANDE).	DOORS OF RAVING.	DOORS OF RUMOR (DOOR).	NAME.	NAME.
Above	—	turur	—	hach	hach
AB	—	crat	rahul	tahul	gah
Animal	—	ugurur	pahul	tando	gah
Arm	huro	huro	eat	eat	eat
Arrows	kibungu	lat	—	hulot	'u-han (i. am-han)
Ashe	—	kibho kungu	ahuro	eat	'u-gurur
Asr	—	afur	—	afur	eat
Babara	hombobul	ahidha	ahidha	moat	ahidha, ahidha
Bark	—	agurur	eat	eat	eat
Bed	huleya	eat	eat	eat	eat
Bathe	—	hulul (poh)	—	—	ahidha (inf.), F. m. g. g.
Bonds	—	ahidha	and	—	—
Brad	ahungur	ahungur	—	ahungur	ahungur
Br	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha (pl. 'u-han)
Belly	—	—	—	ahidha	ahidha
Below	—	ahungur	ahungur	ahungur	ahidha
Bird	ahungur	ahungur	ahungur	ahungur	ahidha
Black	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Bined	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Bone	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Bow	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Brown wire	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Butcher	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Buffalo	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Buttocks	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Cap	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Chant	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Child (female)	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Child (male)	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Cloak	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Cloth	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Cold	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Colum	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
C-ae	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Cooking pot	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Curry	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Cue	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Dag	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Dashy	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Ear	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Earth (red)	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Eat	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Eat	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Elephant	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Eyes	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Father	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Flower	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Fire	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Forward	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Fish	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Food	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Foot	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Form	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha
Foot	—	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha	ahidha

No. 21.1

MAN.

DISOL

	English (K. SANSI).	English (K. SANSI).	English (K. SANSI).	English (K. SANSI).	English (K. SANSI).
One	one	one	one	one	one
Two	two	two	two	two	two
Three	three	three	three	three	three
Four	four	four	four	four	four
Five	five	five	five	five	five
Six	six	six	six	six	six
Seven	seven	seven	seven	seven	seven
Eight	eight	eight	eight	eight	eight
Nine	nine	nine	nine	nine	nine
Ten	ten	ten	ten	ten	ten
Eleven	eleven	eleven	eleven	eleven	eleven
Twelve	twelve	twelve	twelve	twelve	twelve
Thirteen	thirteen	thirteen	thirteen	thirteen	thirteen
Fourteen	fourteen	fourteen	fourteen	fourteen	fourteen
Fifteen	fifteen	fifteen	fifteen	fifteen	fifteen
Sixteen	sixteen	sixteen	sixteen	sixteen	sixteen
Seventeen	seventeen	seventeen	seventeen	seventeen	seventeen
Eighteen	eighteen	eighteen	eighteen	eighteen	eighteen
Nineteen	nineteen	nineteen	nineteen	nineteen	nineteen
Twenty	twenty	twenty	twenty	twenty	twenty
Twenty-one	twenty-one	twenty-one	twenty-one	twenty-one	twenty-one
Twenty-two	twenty-two	twenty-two	twenty-two	twenty-two	twenty-two
Twenty-three	twenty-three	twenty-three	twenty-three	twenty-three	twenty-three
Twenty-four	twenty-four	twenty-four	twenty-four	twenty-four	twenty-four
Twenty-five	twenty-five	twenty-five	twenty-five	twenty-five	twenty-five
Twenty-six	twenty-six	twenty-six	twenty-six	twenty-six	twenty-six
Twenty-seven	twenty-seven	twenty-seven	twenty-seven	twenty-seven	twenty-seven
Twenty-eight	twenty-eight	twenty-eight	twenty-eight	twenty-eight	twenty-eight
Twenty-nine	twenty-nine	twenty-nine	twenty-nine	twenty-nine	twenty-nine
Thirty	thirty	thirty	thirty	thirty	thirty
Thirty-one	thirty-one	thirty-one	thirty-one	thirty-one	thirty-one
Thirty-two	thirty-two	thirty-two	thirty-two	thirty-two	thirty-two
Thirty-three	thirty-three	thirty-three	thirty-three	thirty-three	thirty-three
Thirty-four	thirty-four	thirty-four	thirty-four	thirty-four	thirty-four
Thirty-five	thirty-five	thirty-five	thirty-five	thirty-five	thirty-five
Thirty-six	thirty-six	thirty-six	thirty-six	thirty-six	thirty-six
Thirty-seven	thirty-seven	thirty-seven	thirty-seven	thirty-seven	thirty-seven
Thirty-eight	thirty-eight	thirty-eight	thirty-eight	thirty-eight	thirty-eight
Thirty-nine	thirty-nine	thirty-nine	thirty-nine	thirty-nine	thirty-nine
Forty	forty	forty	forty	forty	forty
Forty-one	forty-one	forty-one	forty-one	forty-one	forty-one
Forty-two	forty-two	forty-two	forty-two	forty-two	forty-two
Forty-three	forty-three	forty-three	forty-three	forty-three	forty-three
Forty-four	forty-four	forty-four	forty-four	forty-four	forty-four
Forty-five	forty-five	forty-five	forty-five	forty-five	forty-five
Forty-six	forty-six	forty-six	forty-six	forty-six	forty-six
Forty-seven	forty-seven	forty-seven	forty-seven	forty-seven	forty-seven
Forty-eight	forty-eight	forty-eight	forty-eight	forty-eight	forty-eight
Forty-nine	forty-nine	forty-nine	forty-nine	forty-nine	forty-nine
Fifty	fifty	fifty	fifty	fifty	fifty
Fifty-one	fifty-one	fifty-one	fifty-one	fifty-one	fifty-one
Fifty-two	fifty-two	fifty-two	fifty-two	fifty-two	fifty-two
Fifty-three	fifty-three	fifty-three	fifty-three	fifty-three	fifty-three
Fifty-four	fifty-four	fifty-four	fifty-four	fifty-four	fifty-four
Fifty-five	fifty-five	fifty-five	fifty-five	fifty-five	fifty-five
Fifty-six	fifty-six	fifty-six	fifty-six	fifty-six	fifty-six
Fifty-seven	fifty-seven	fifty-seven	fifty-seven	fifty-seven	fifty-seven
Fifty-eight	fifty-eight	fifty-eight	fifty-eight	fifty-eight	fifty-eight
Fifty-nine	fifty-nine	fifty-nine	fifty-nine	fifty-nine	fifty-nine
Sixty	sixty	sixty	sixty	sixty	sixty
Sixty-one	sixty-one	sixty-one	sixty-one	sixty-one	sixty-one
Sixty-two	sixty-two	sixty-two	sixty-two	sixty-two	sixty-two
Sixty-three	sixty-three	sixty-three	sixty-three	sixty-three	sixty-three
Sixty-four	sixty-four	sixty-four	sixty-four	sixty-four	sixty-four
Sixty-five	sixty-five	sixty-five	sixty-five	sixty-five	sixty-five
Sixty-six	sixty-six	sixty-six	sixty-six	sixty-six	sixty-six
Sixty-seven	sixty-seven	sixty-seven	sixty-seven	sixty-seven	sixty-seven
Sixty-eight	sixty-eight	sixty-eight	sixty-eight	sixty-eight	sixty-eight
Sixty-nine	sixty-nine	sixty-nine	sixty-nine	sixty-nine	sixty-nine
Seventy	seventy	seventy	seventy	seventy	seventy
Seventy-one	seventy-one	seventy-one	seventy-one	seventy-one	seventy-one
Seventy-two	seventy-two	seventy-two	seventy-two	seventy-two	seventy-two
Seventy-three	seventy-three	seventy-three	seventy-three	seventy-three	seventy-three
Seventy-four	seventy-four	seventy-four	seventy-four	seventy-four	seventy-four
Seventy-five	seventy-five	seventy-five	seventy-five	seventy-five	seventy-five
Seventy-six	seventy-six	seventy-six	seventy-six	seventy-six	seventy-six
Seventy-seven	seventy-seven	seventy-seven	seventy-seven	seventy-seven	seventy-seven
Seventy-eight	seventy-eight	seventy-eight	seventy-eight	seventy-eight	seventy-eight
Seventy-nine	seventy-nine	seventy-nine	seventy-nine	seventy-nine	seventy-nine
Eighty	eighty	eighty	eighty	eighty	eighty
Eighty-one	eighty-one	eighty-one	eighty-one	eighty-one	eighty-one
Eighty-two	eighty-two	eighty-two	eighty-two	eighty-two	eighty-two
Eighty-three	eighty-three	eighty-three	eighty-three	eighty-three	eighty-three
Eighty-four	eighty-four	eighty-four	eighty-four	eighty-four	eighty-four
Eighty-five	eighty-five	eighty-five	eighty-five	eighty-five	eighty-five
Eighty-six	eighty-six	eighty-six	eighty-six	eighty-six	eighty-six
Eighty-seven	eighty-seven	eighty-seven	eighty-seven	eighty-seven	eighty-seven
Eighty-eight	eighty-eight	eighty-eight	eighty-eight	eighty-eight	eighty-eight
Eighty-nine	eighty-nine	eighty-nine	eighty-nine	eighty-nine	eighty-nine
Ninety	ninety	ninety	ninety	ninety	ninety
Ninety-one	ninety-one	ninety-one	ninety-one	ninety-one	ninety-one
Ninety-two	ninety-two	ninety-two	ninety-two	ninety-two	ninety-two
Ninety-three	ninety-three	ninety-three	ninety-three	ninety-three	ninety-three
Ninety-four	ninety-four	ninety-four	ninety-four	ninety-four	ninety-four
Ninety-five	ninety-five	ninety-five	ninety-five	ninety-five	ninety-five
Ninety-six	ninety-six	ninety-six	ninety-six	ninety-six	ninety-six
Ninety-seven	ninety-seven	ninety-seven	ninety-seven	ninety-seven	ninety-seven
Ninety-eight	ninety-eight	ninety-eight	ninety-eight	ninety-eight	ninety-eight
Ninety-nine	ninety-nine	ninety-nine	ninety-nine	ninety-nine	ninety-nine
Hundred	hundred	hundred	hundred	hundred	hundred

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* More authentic names seen in *The Ice*, the language of the Eskimoes of Alaska.

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MAN.

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	DOOROB OF TIBBERET (E. Nandi).	DOOROB OF HAVEN.	DOOROB OF NEMO (DOROB).	NAME.	NAME.
Several ant	malilo	—	—	—	—
Shamba	—	maligat	manaret	—	—
Sheep	elbarumal	hachet	arath	higriet	—
She (wood)	wachto	wachto	retret	retret	—
Sister	apbaragumak	—	—	kitutcha	—
Snake	landup amwak	landup amwak	alamgaret	aromat	—
Spear	hbarut	traget	traget	garet	—
Stick	elhamet	—	—	kitutcha	—
Stomach	tagait	—	—	malet	—
Stool	elargait	—	—	malet	—
See	—	amgelle	amgelle	malet	—
Supper being	haka-tobin	—	—	hachet	—
Tooth	mamomak	hinet	hinet	hachet	—
Thing	—	mamak	elimate	hachet	—
Tobacco	kipondit	alamgaret	tomhatet	tomhatet	—
To-day	—	pasin	havaragar	—	—
To-morrow	—	tan	traget	malet	—
Tongue	machit	amgelle	hama	malet	—
Type antelope	—	higbaragumak	—	—	—
Tree	hachet	hachet	hama	hachet	—
Tattoo	—	hachet	—	amgelle	—
Wart-bag	—	—	amgelle	hachet (pig)	—
Water	polin	polin	polin	hachet	—
Wink	agumamak	hachet	—	hachet	—
Wind	—	hachet	hachet	hachet	—
Woman	—	amgelle	hachet	hachet	—
Woman (old)	manaret	—	—	—	—
Woman (young)	thit	—	—	—	—
Work	—	polin	hachet	hachet	—
Yan	—	amgelle	hachet	hachet	—
Zebo	elotigait	amgelle	amgelle	hachet	—

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NOTE.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neuman (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Enaso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mogogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Man.

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Mr. Neuman collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipay tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neuman's vocabulary of the language of the Mogogodo:—

Arrow	-	-	Lagh.	Child (of either sex)	-	-	Laya.
Bad	-	-	Etiteri.	Boy	-	-	Kati.
Bird	-	-	Legel.	Come	-	-	Yato.
Blood	-	-	Saga.	Cooking pot	-	-	Dara.
NOTE.—In Lar language saga means bone; in The-Lao bone is chaga.							
Bone	-	-	Metaka.	Cow	-	-	Gvika.
Bow	-	-	Faba.	Dog	-	-	Kaba.
Buffalo	-	-	Fiba.	Elephant	-	-	Sogomd.
				Father	-	-	Abai.
				Fire	-	-	Iha.